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ABSTRACT

This paper is an analysis of behavioral texts (speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation) and a discussion of the persuasive devices employed by the speakers in an effort to effect a change in the listener's behavior. This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts. Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are described: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing, and indirectness. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion are described, including factors that necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc, mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels, and mitigation force. Texts are appended. (JP)

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Behavioral Discourse Strategy in Eastern Bontoc[1]

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Abbreviations and symbols

DU	dual
EM	emphasis
EX	exclusive
EXT	existential
GM	genitive marker
IM	inversion marker
IN	inclusive
LK	linker
NM	nominative marker
OM	oblique marker
PL	plural
PROG	progressive
Q	question marker
QM	quotation marker
RQ	rhetorical question

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[1] Eastern Bontoc is an Austronesian language classified as a member of the Central Cordilleran language family and is spoken in the municipalities of Bontoc and Barlig, Mt. Province, Philippines. There are about 8,000 speakers in five villages: Bayyu, Talubin, Barlig, Lias, and Kadaclan. Each village speaks its own subdialect of Eastern Bontoc. The data for this study is based on the Barlig dialect and was gathered during the summer of 1986, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. Analysis of the data was done during a discourse workshop held by the same institute during September and October 1987 at Bagabag, Nueva Vizcaya, under the direction of Dr. Michael R. Walrod. Dr. Rodolfo Barlaan provided valuable consultant help.

/	alternate related meaning
.	compound gloss
,	semantic/grammatical components
-	glottal stop
??	unknown gloss

0. Introduction

A behavioral discourse is one in which the communicator intends to exhort, give advice, persuade or give verbal discipline in an effort to change the behavior or beliefs of the advisee. A primary notional feature of behavioral discourse is that it is agent oriented (Longacre 1983:3-4); that is, speech directed obligatorily to a second person in a communication situation. If the communicator wants to gain maximum behavioral change, he needs to be aware of all the extra linguistic factors involved in the communication situation, as well as the linguistic devices available in the language. To accomplish this goal, he is required to make use of all available persuasive devices in the language. The purpose of this paper is to discuss the persuasive devices employed in the behavioral texts analyzed.

This study deals with two Eastern Bontoc behavioral texts (see Appendix). The first text is a conversation among several people advising a careless boy to save his money for wedding celebration expenses, and not to spend it on gambling and drinking. His aunt is the main one speaking to him, but his grandfather, older brother and younger sister are also at the scene and speak from time to time. The text was recorded and transcribed by *Alex Cotaran*, a native of Barlig village of Eastern Bontoc language area and the older brother referred to in the text. The second text was written by *Virginia Coyao*, a native of Barlig also. In the text she advises her peer group about the importance of sending children to school.

In behavioral discourse the communicator employs a strategy to gain maximum results. The strategy involves persuasive devices, which can be either nonlinguistic or linguistic.

1. Nonlinguistic persuasive devices

There are many persuasive devices in a language which help the communicator to achieve his aim of effecting a change in the behavior of the listener. According to the communication theory of Walrod (1988), most information is communicated by nonverbal means. This is especially true in behavioral discourse, since the purpose is not only to transmit information, but to effect a change in behavior as well.

Several nonlinguistic persuasive devices are: appeal to the cultural norm, human relationship, coaxing and indirectness.

1.1 Appeal to the cultural norm

Appeal to the cultural norm is a nonlinguistic device commonly used to effect a change in the behavior of the one being advised. Since a cultural norm is by definition a value shared by the people in a given society, it serves as a model for expected behavior. The adviser, by either implying or stating the norm, attempts to effect a change in the behavior of the person to whom he is speaking. Cultural norms are layered and can be arranged from most important to least important. Barlaan[2] considers the layering of cultural norms to belong to the linguistic domain, but I treat it as a nonlinguistic device since cultural norms are essentially nonlinguistic elements shared by a society. These elements are expressed in behavioral discourse, such as the two texts on which this paper is based.

In text 1 the most important cultural norm is the concept of shame. In text 1, turn 13[3] when the aunt tells the boy that he should not embarrass his relatives, she is making quite a strong statement. In turn 19 (sentence 19e) she does this again when she says, "How shameful this is, if they said no one was

[2] Personal communication with him in 1987.

[3] Numbers refer to conversational turns, while 13a, etc. in the text refer to sentence enumeration within a turn.

advising you children." Note that she resorts to "they" (referring to the people in general for her support), since shame functions as a cultural norm with and among the people. In turn 26 (sentence 26b) she again says, "Isn't it shameful if (when you box someone) others say, 'We belong to the same clan'?" In turn 66 (sentence 66a) she says, "...then what will they say?" Lastly, in turn 68 (sentence 68a) she says, "'His mother does not advise him...', they will say." She continues in sentence 68b, "Then you cause (us) embarrassment." The aunt is very conscious of what the people say because anyone who does anything against the cultural norm of the community brings shame to one's family. Thus, conformity to the cultural norm of the community is very important. In essence, what the aunt is saying to the boy is, "Don't be an embarrassment to us."

Another cultural norm expressed in text 1 is the importance of marrying and having children. To multiply is good, and the continuing existence of the community is very important. From the beginning of the conversation the aunt brings up this norm. In text 1, turn 3 (sentence 3b) she says, " 'Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk'?" The theme of marriage is followed throughout the conversation as shown in the following excerpts: turn 7 (sentence 7b) 'when you get married'; turn 11 (sentence 11b) 'for your wedding celebration'; turn 15 (sentence 15a) 'church wedding' and (sentence 15b) 'one pig from your wife's side'; turn 17 (sentence 17) 'whenever they get married'; turn 19 (sentence 19c) 'is there anyone (among the ladies)' and (sentence 19d) 'you get married...your wife'; turn 28 (sentence 28) 'we get married'; turn 34 (sentence 34a) 'you get married...after you marry'; turn 42 (sentence 42) 'when we (Bontocs) get married...a wife'; turn 44 (sentence 44) 'you get married'; turn 50 (sentence 50a) 'you do get married' and (sentence 50b) 'your wife'; turn 63 (sentence 63b) 'marry you'; and turn 66 (sentence 66a) 'you get married'.

The young man in text 1 is the appropriate age for marriage. It would be shameful to the aunt if he does not marry, since in the village only drunkards and gamblers remain single men. Because they have no children they are forgotten in the future, since no one remembers the names of dead relatives who never had any children.

A related cultural norm is that a married couple should have a wedding celebration. In the Eastern Bontoc area, marriage takes place when a boy and a girl agree to marry each other and begin living together. They do three other things after that; namely, obtain a marriage contract in the municipal hall, have a church wedding and have a native wedding celebration. These three can occur in one day, but in many cases there is a long time lapse between them. One can have a native wedding celebration after having as many as three children. With this event, the marriage is celebrated by the community and the married couple is remembered in the future, due to the impact the celebration has had on the whole community. Many couples feel ashamed if they do not have carabao, cows and/or pigs to butcher for this celebration. The main point of the native wedding celebration is to have people gathering and eating together. One of the main reasons that there is a period of time between when the couple agrees to marry and the native wedding celebration, is that they need to save money to buy animals for the celebration. Saving money can start even before the couple agrees to marry, but it definitely continues long after the agreement. Thus it is important for a man to work hard in order to save for his wedding celebration.

The least important cultural norm is to refrain from gambling and drinking. In many cases drinking and gambling go on all night, so the man indulging in these activities cannot work hard and save money.

In text 1 the more important cultural norms, such as conformity to the cultural norm of the community, marrying and having a native wedding celebration are presupposed. The exhortation points given by the aunt relate more to the outer norm, such as refraining from gambling and drinking, saving money and working hard.

In text 2 cultural norms are ranked: (1) being a good steward of one's money and (2) sending one's children to school (which requires money). The communicator states that it is more important to send children to school than to keep money. The advice is meant to appeal to the known and accepted cultural norm of the community in clarifying a perceived indecision.

1.2 Human relationship

Who is talking to whom is quite important in behavioral discourse, since the relationship between the speaker and the hearer decides whether the hearer should or should not listen to the advice of the advisor. He can ask himself:

(1) Which one is more powerful?

(2) Which one has a higher social rank?

(3) Which one is older?

(4) Which one has a debt to the other?

(5) Which one is higher in blood relationship?

These questions are constantly in the mind of the speaker and hearer, and his assessment of the relationship influences his speech act. In text 1 the young man is surrounded by his aunt, grandfather, older brother and sister. They all have a higher standing than he does in terms of kin relationship, so this means that he must listen to whatever they say to him. For example, in turn 21 (sentence 21a) the grandfather refers to himself as "I, your grandfather" and in turn 23 (sentence 23) to the young man as "my grandson". In turn 26 (sentence 26c), the aunt refers to the young man as "children". In turn 48 (sentence 48c) she calls herself, "your parents". In turn 55 (sentence 55a) the older brother calls him "*Fertig*". A younger sibling never addresses his older brother in this way. In turn 58 (sentence 58) the aunt refers to the older brother as "this sibling of yours". Lastly, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) she again refers to the young man as "children". Since they all agree in what they say, pressure is put on him. In text 2 (sentence 2) the speaker is addressing her peers. In this way she avoids straight exhortations like those in text 1, but uses a group of supposed advisees instead.

1.3 Coaxing

In Eastern Bontoc the word *fialiyan* 'coaxing', which in this article means an effort to persuade using an argument, even if it may not be true. For example, in an effort to stop a crying child, a mother will promise to give candies (but she doesn't actually give them), or she may say that a policeman is coming (when he really isn't). This may not be for the Eastern Bontocs only. Mercado (1979:32) says about Filipino parents in general that parents promise a lot, but when promises are broken the child learns not to be disappointed. What is important is not whether it is a fact, but rather that it is a means of bringing persuasive force. In text 1, turn 30 (sentence 30) the aunt says, "When there is (a wake for) a dead person, then your boy companions and your girl companions indeed tell me about it", which may not be true. That is why the boy answers back in turn 31 (sentence 31), "Who are they?" The aunt doesn't answer the question of the boy, but accuses him for talking back. He then accuses the aunt of being a liar. In turn 34 (sentence 34a) the aunt says, "You cannot deny (that you are doing these things)", but she then goes on to talk about the marriage. Neither of them are trying to prove something; that is not their concern. She says in turn 5 (sentence 5b), "Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling." This again may not be true, but it serves as an exhortation, even if he isn't always there. Still, he is guilty of gambling, and this is what the aunt wants him to stop doing.

1.4 Indirectness

It is somewhat surprising that a young man like the one in text 1 actually does behave in due course of time, even though the exhortation seems weak. There are many young men who gamble and drink, but all of them do not remain that way for a long time. Sometimes the main purpose of a behavioral discourse is to remind or give hortation points/advice to the advisee. In the future, there may be a time when he will really think about the exhortation and decide to follow the advice given. In the last part of text 1 (especially after turn 61), the word *kikiad* 'responsibility/up to you' occurs frequently. In turn 61 (sentence 61d) the aunt says, "...you are the one who is responsible." She continues in turn 63 (sentence 63a) with the same word, which is translated 'you are responsible'. In turn 67 (sentence 67) the young man responds,

"It is up to us." Finally, in turn 70 (sentence 70a) the aunt says, "Now it is up to you." In turn 71 (sentence 71) the boy replies, "We are the ones who are responsible." It is clear that the aunt isn't trying to force the young man to agree, or to force him to promise that he won't gamble anymore. The aunt is satisfied when the boy says, "We are the ones who are responsible." It is shameful if the aunt really corners him, and proves that he really is a useless person. She avoids that situation, but rather is content to remind him what she really wants him to be like.

2. Mitigatory efforts in persuasion

2.1 The need to mitigate (make mild) commands in behavioral discourse

There are three factors which necessitate the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc.

The first factor is that Eastern Bontocs generally tend to avoid conflict/confrontation situations. Each village in the Eastern Bontoc area is surrounded by high mountains, and the distance between villages is very far. More than 90 percent of the people marry within their own village, so each village is a tightly knit society. Everyone knows who each person is related to, what each person owns, what events happened to each person, etc. If people have a problem in their relationship, they know that they will see each other from time to time, even after the settlement of the case. They also know that, if at all possible, it is wise to avoid any conflict or confrontation. The surface peace or harmony is quite important, even though there are hidden negative feelings. It is important for one not to show anger to others.

The second factor that necessitates mitigation is shame. Conformity to the expected cultural norm is the basic demand of shame. It is shameful if one is doing something different from the expected norm, because the people in the society are closely related to each other. Another reason is that it's a farming community, and in rice farming many activities need to be done together. So, it is a high value to maintain harmonious working relationships within this community. When a person feels ashamed, he doesn't want to see his fellow villagers or relatives. Since it is impossible to avoid others in such a tightly knit and crowded village, the best thing to do is to avoid bringing shame to oneself or to one's family/relatives.

The third factor that necessitates mitigation is shared knowledge. This is because of the previous two factors. Many things are unsaid, because the society already shares this common information. So, when you advise, it is better if your exhortation is implied, and is not a direct confrontation. The advisee will quickly get the point of the exhortation.

These three factors are the background for the use of mitigation in behavioral discourse in Eastern Bontoc. When exhortations are directly addressed to the advisee, it means that the adviser is angry and intends to break off their relationship. It also means that he doesn't intend to see the advisee again in his lifetime. So, in normal situations outside of one's own family, it is adviseable to avoid unmitigated exhortation. When the nonlinguistic persuasive devices are fully utilized and the utterance is mitigated, the persuasive force is likely to be strong.

2.2 Mitigation in behavioral discourse

Mitigation is a linguistic device which enables an adviser to maintain a good relationship with his advisee, yet it accomplishes the desired persuasive result. This is done by replacing/changing parts of a constituent at different linguistic levels. The presence of cultural constraints demands the use of mitigation devices. In a given situation, if an unmitigated discourse will result in a broken relationship, one needs to resort to the mitigation.

2.2.1 Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels

Mitigation occurs on the discourse level, the episode/paragraph level, the sentence/clause level and the word level. In this section, I will discuss the strength of the mitigation force on each level.

2.2.1.1 Discourse level

Mitigation on the discourse level involves skewing of the intent and the discourse type by the speaker. The discourse type can be behavioral, narrative, expository or procedural. Manabe (1984:7-8) talks about

'authorial intent' and 'hierarchical structure of authorial intent'. His point is that even a narrative discourse can carry authorial intent in various ways. A story can be told that also includes a moral lesson. This is a common practice among the Eastern Bontocs. People tell stories to others in order to make the hearer do what they want to be done. In the first part of text 2, the story clearly carries an authorial intent. This is specifically used to stress the need for continuing education. The communicator regards the child as the point of reference by referring to the father in turn 3 as "his father", but the child is never referred to as "his child". Twice the communicator uses an indirect quote or indirect speech for the words of the child. In sentence 2 the communicator says, "Their child, he wanted to continue going to school." And in sentence 10 the communicator says, "...he said again that he would continue two more years." All the other speech act is a direct quote. That a child needs to go to school is the advice of the communicator to his audience, and the message reflected in the indirect speech is that they should send their children to school.

2.2.1.2 Episode or paragraph level

Mitigation on the episode or paragraph level is what Barlaan (during personal communication with him) terms global mitigation. Reordering takes place by reversing the order of the global or main constituents of a behavioral discourse. The basic notional structure of a behavioral discourse is: (1) projected circumstance, (2) command element and (3) support by argument (Fukuda 1983:151). In a mitigated discourse (see text 2), support by argument comes first, and then the command element follows (see sentence 22). Support by argument (see sentences 1-19) is an embedded narrative discourse, which is followed by a metaphor (see sentences 20-21). This metaphor is realized as a grammatical paragraph, and it is also part of the global mitigation. Instead of speaking directly, the speaker can use metaphors which indirectly convey his real meaning.

2.2.1.3 Sentence or clause level

There are many mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, such as, the rhetorical question. In text 1 there are many instances of rhetorical questions, which communicate the strong affirmative point of the communicator. A rhetorical question can be expressed in three ways:

(1) Use of the rhetorical question marker in text 1, turn 3:

3b. Ay way monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon
Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only

fofotang chi kon?
drunk NM only

3b. Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "there aren't any ladies who like you if you are always drunk".

(2) The notionally rhetorical question uses a question marker, but no rhetorical question marker is used in text 1, turn 11:

11c. Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?
Q EXT,LK PROG,I place.of.work

11c. Do I have a job now?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, you know that I don't have a job now", or, "I can't earn any money for you."

(3) The notionally rhetorical question doesn't use the question word *ay*, but the rising intonation at the end of the sentence phonologically marks it as a question in text 1, turn 8:

8. Kon lawa ichat?
only just give

8. Do I just give it?

The intent of the communicator is to say, "Of course, I won't give it."

A second device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level, is to express a notional exhortation with an exclamation sentence in text 1, turn 1:

1b. Anan norpowam os!	1b. Now, where have you been!
EM come.you now	

The communicator knows that the boy has been drinking, and probably gambling. This is equivalent to saying, "You shouldn't come home drunk this late."

The third device for expressing mitigation on the sentence or clause level is to express a notional exhortation by a statement sentence in text 1, turn 26:

26c. Hiyasa nan nomnomon ay ongong-a.	26c. That is what you should think, children.
that NM think LK children	

In text 1 there are very few command sentences compared to rhetorical questions. And those command sentences are not the communicators main hortation point, but like the command in text 1, turn 34 (sentence 34b), "Listen!"

One other use of the statement sentence is presumed realization (Doty 1986:51). In text 1, turn 70 (sentences 70a-70b) the aunt says, "Now it is up to you children, if you insist on what you say. You must control your own thoughts." She talks as if the boy has already come to his senses, or that he has already agreed to do what she has been asking him.

2.2.1.4 Word level pronouns and particles are the two major mitigation devices on word level.

(1) The basic mitigatory device on the word level, is for the pronouns to shift from second person orientation (either singular or plural) to first person orientation. It can also shift from second person singular to second person plural. In text 2, sentence 22 the communicator addresses the advisees by using the first person plural inclusive pronoun *tako*. Up until then the communicator did not identify herself, since she was just telling the story. She identifies herself as a parent by including herself with the first person plural inclusive pronoun. She says, 'that is what I say to all of us,IN parents'. After this she uses the same pronoun five times. This is to mitigate the command by including herself.

Also in text 1, the aunt uses the second person plural pronoun, although she is clearly referring only to the boy. This is to mitigate the command by including the friends of the boy, who aren't there at the time of the conversation. In turn 7 (sentence 7c) she says, 'you,PL work now... if you,PL do not keep it then give it to me'.

(2) The second mitigatory device on the word level, is the use of some special particles. The Eastern Bontoc word *anaka*, which has a lexically zero meaning, is used when one cannot think of the right word. This word can take all the verbal affixes. But in text 1, turns 11, 19, 30, and 70 the word functions as a mitigory device to soften the command by giving an extra phonological pause. Another particle is *mampay* 'emphasis' used in text 1, turn 7:

7c. ... mo achi you itopog mampay, ichat yon haon!	7c. ...or if you do not keep it then give it to me!
if not you keep EM give you,OM me	

2.3 Mitigation force

Mitigation devices used on different grammatical levels are described in section 2.2 . I propose that the mitigation effect is strongest on the discourse level, and it becomes successively weaker as it moves down to the word level. Intuitively, I like to think that a narrative story makes the most impact on the advisee. The grandfather's embedded expository discourse is well accepted by the boy (see text 1, turn 21), even though it has a hortation intent. The boy doesn't question the necessity of the wedding celebration, which the grandfather is trying to explain. Rather, the boy is questioning the very minor point of boxing on such an occasion.

When we compare the statement and the rhetorical question as mitigation devices on the sentence or clause level, it seems that the statement has more force. For example, in text 1 the statement receives a positive response from the boy. As for the rhetorical questions, the boy doesn't negate the norm but responds in an indirect way.

In conclusion, mitigation isn't utilized on only one level. Text 1 has an embedded expository discourse, presumed realization, rhetorical questions and pronoun shifts. Text 2 has global reordering of the constituents structures, pronoun shifts and metaphor. Mitigation devices used on four grammatical levels add to the strength of the mitigation force employed by the speaker to persuade the second person in a communication situation to change his behavior.

Appendix: Text 1

1a. Anan sorfiatam! EM foolish.you	1a. How foolish you are!
1b. Anan norpowam os! EM come.you now	1b. Now, where have you been!
2. Ya kakon man assa fiabroy! and well EM there poblacion	2. Well, there at the *poblacion*!
3a. Kon fofotang chi kon mo. only drunk NM only you	3a. You always get drunk.
3b. Ay way monlayad kan chitas fiafiarasang mo kon Q EXT like OM us,OM ladies if only *fofotang chi kon?* drunk NM only	3b. Is there anyone among the ladies who likes us if we are always drunk?
4. Ya kon manowat at wacha challo! and only even.so IM EXT EM	4. Sure there will be one!
5a. Oray wacha! even EXT	5a. There is even (someone who would want you)!
5b. Wacha os nan matoy, kiay oyka os nakisokiar. EXT now NM dead then go.you again gamble	5b. Whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, you always go and join in the gambling.
5c. Anan oymo omor-a-or-an hi cha isokiasokiar? EM you get OM PROG money.to.gamble	5c. How do you get the money you use for gambling?
6. Ya kakon tinob-okian. and well earn	6. Well, it is the money I earned.
7a. Angkiay kon nan tinob-okian ya kon sokiar chi then only NM earn and only gamble NM *mangeayam ya inomom?* spend.you and drink.you	7a. It is the money you earned, and are you spending it only for gambling and drinking?

7b. Kiay konpay mo omasawa ka ya tay ammok
then when if marry you and because know.I

met ay wachay cham oy annon, yangkiay anan mo
EM LK EXT.LK PROG,you go court then EM if

omasawa ka, kiay nan etarakon mo?
marry you then NM take.care.of you

7b. Then when you get married, because I know that there is a lady you are courting, so when you get married then how do you take care of her?

7c. Ya tay adwani pay nan ... adwani ay onlagfo
and because now EM NM now LK work

kayo, hiyachin cha mangitoptopokian hi aket hi
you that,NM PROG keep OM little OM

elagfowan onno mo achi yo itopog mampay ichat yon
earn or if not you keep EM give you,OM

haon!
me

7c. Yes, because...you are working now, you should save a little, or if you do not keep it, then give it to me!

8. Kon"lhlva ichat?
only just give

8. Do I just give it?

9. Ya tay itopog ko.
and because keep I

9. Yes, so that I can keep it.

10. Iyen-enom-at ta awni ta anaka mangasawa, haak-at
drink so later so well marry then.I

cha itoptopog.
PROG keep

10. I just spend it for drinking, but when I get married in the future, that is the time I will keep it.

11a. Ay awni?
Q later

11a. In the future (you will save your money)?

11b. Angkiay anan anaka, elakom hi ichoyas
then EM well buy OM things.for.wedding

mo?
your

11b. Then how do you buy what is needed for your wedding celebration?

11c. Ay wachay chak monlagfowan?
Q EXT.LK PROG,I place.of.work

11c. Do I have a job now?

11d. Ay wachay cha monlagfowan ama yo?
Q EXT.LK PROG place.of.work father your

11d. Does your father have a job now?

12a. Kias-an wachay ichoychoyas?
necessary EXT.LK things.for.wedding

12a. Is it necessary to have something for the wedding celebration?

12b. Kakon ommat-at chi osay manok ay ichoyas
well enough NM one,LK chicken LK for.wedding

at osto chi.
IM good that

12b. It is acceptable to have only one chicken for the wedding celebration.

13a. O, tay maid fia-in mos ib-am.
yes because none shame your,OM relatives

13a. Yes, because you do not want to embarrass your relatives.

13b. Totoknom hinkaongam.
foolish.you since.child

13b. You have been foolish from your childhood.

14a. Ah-a.
well

14a. Well.

14b. Kakon challo kon sorsoroton nan menaliyam ta!
well EM only learn NM traditional.way EM

14b. It is better to follow the traditional way!

14c. Oytan kiasto ... kakon ....
we spend well

14c. We will spend...hopefully....

15a. Kaskasin nan kiastos henan adwani tay wacha
more NM expense OM now because EXT

nan kaskasar ay oycha kankanan.
NM church.wedding LK their words

15a. The expense now (for the wedding celebration) is much more because that is what they say the cost is for a church wedding.

15b. Ongor chi at ya tay mo ahnan pinos-oy kon
much NM IM and because if OM old.way only

way osay fiafoy mo ay laraki ya wachay osay fiafoy
EXT one,LK pig if LK man and EXT,LK one,LK pig

chi asawam, hiyachi.
NM wife.your that

15b. It is very expensive because in the traditional way there is one pig from the man's side and one pig from the wife's side, that is the way.

15c. Senmorpon cha nan ib-am ya as
bring.rice.bundles they NM relatives.your and OM

katorong as kaman ib-am, at achi cha met
help OM like relatives.you IM not they EM

epaafos chi!
demand.return that

15c. Your relatives bring rice bundles as their contribution, and they will not demand that you give (pig meat) in return!

15d. Afosomto chi as kasin.
give that OM future

15d. That is what you will give them later.

16. Iso ompay!
right EM

16. That is right!

17. As omasaw-an cha os.
OM marry they now

17. Whenever they get married (they will give it).

18a. Mangisiw nan wachay ab-afoson.
evil NM EXT,LK give.back

18a. It is bad to have a custom of giving something in return (at the wedding celebration).

18b. Ta kon wacha kay chi monkasar, kiay iyoy chi
so only EXT EM NM marry then bring NM
sorpon?
rice.bundles

18b. Because whenever there is a wedding, then rice bundles are brought (by the relatives)?

18c. Anan oyaka!
EM too.much

18c. That is too much!

18d. Pipiya pay chi osay manok ta kon ang-angkiay
better EM NM one,LK chicken so only only
kayo.
you

18d. It is better to have one chicken since you are the only ones (providing it).

19a. Totoknom.
foolish.you

19a. You are foolish.

19b. Anan nangor-am hi nomnom mos assesa?
EM get.you OM think your,OM like.that

19b. Where did you get that idea?

19c. Ay way monlayad kan hea mo hiyasa?
Q EXT like OM you if that

19c. Is there anyone (among the ladies) who would like you if you are like that?

19d. Ay awni ta omasawa ka ya anaka katokiangam
Q later so marry you and well parents.in.law
chi manochon hea ya asawam?
NM advise you and wife.your

19d. Is it only after you get married that your parents-in-law are the ones to advise you and your wife?

19e. Anoy kafiafiain na, kiay kenali cha on, maid cha
how shameful this then said they QM none PROG
itocho kan chakayo ay ongong-a.
advise OM you LK children

19e. How shameful this is, if they said no one was advising you children.

20. Ya wacha met!
and EXT EM

20. Yes, there are those (who advise)!

21a. Wacha nan ifiakiak ay ap-o yo.
EXT NM tell.I LK grandfather your

21a. I, your grandfather, have something to say.

21b. Kanak on, libbing ay mo omasawa ta, wacha challoy
say.I QM right LK if marry we EXT truly
choyas.
celebrate

21b. I say that if we (Bontocs) get married, it is right to have a celebration.

21c. Choyas ay kanan nan naoy ad pos-oy challo ta
celebrate LK say NM this OM before truly so
mangayakian hinan masagsagkiang ay ap-o ya
call OM close.relatives LK grandfather and
chachakchakor. Ta way mangaliyan cha on, "Naoy
parents so EXT say they QM here
chakami am-in sa."
we all that

21c. People in the past called it a *choyas* (wedding celebration) when close relatives, who are grandparents and parents, go together. Then they said, "We are all here."

21d. Wacha nan ab-abkor, kenali cha -on, "Aw ya
EXT NM trouble say they QM no and
tay sakiang mi sa yat ta iyapa mi," winno, "Achi
because relative our that and so protect we or not
yo sodpakon, tay chakami sa ay anaka hinfiaroy."
you box because we that LK well one.family

21d. If there is trouble, they will say, "Don't (do that), because that (person) is our relative and we protect him/her," or, "Don't box him/her, because that (person) and we are one family."

21e. Hiyasa nan pagkiawesan nan choyas ay inlokin nan
that NM better OM celebrate LK begin NM
kaap-owan ad pos-oy.
ancestors OM before

21e. That is the good side of wedding celebrations initiated by ancestors in the past.

22. Ya oray pay mo mafotangak at monsodpak ko nan
and even EM if get.drunk.I IM box I NM
ooomngos.
aggressive

22. Even so, if I get drunk, I box those who are aggressive.

23. Ya mo oyka somodsodpak ya tay mangisiw
and if you box and because evil
say apok.
that,LK grandson.my

23. Because if you go and box (someone), that is bad, my grandson.

24. Mo ngay os oomngos cha ngay?
if so again aggressive they so

24. How about if they are very aggressive?

25. Aw, ammay mo kon ta naomos tay hiyana nan
no good if only we patient because this NM
ammay ay tako ta!
good LK we EM

25. No, it is good that we are patient, because this is how we can be good people!

26a. Angkiay ay, ammay chamman mo sodpakom ya as
well LK good EM if box.you and OM
weet ya naap-apat winno as sang-achom ya
next.day and reconcile or OM third.day and
naap-apat ya chita challo ay hinfiaroy?
reconcile and we EM LK one.family

26a. Well, is it good that if you box someone, then you reconcile the next day or the third day, because we are one family?

26b. Ay achi kafiafiain kenali cha on, "Kon ta
Q not shameful say they QM only we
montenanong?"
same.clan

26b. Isn't it shameful if (when you box someone) others say, "We belong to the same clan?"

26c. Hiyasa nan nomnomon ay ongong-a.
that NM think LK children

26c. That is what you should think, children.

26d. Naoy cha nan enaochem, ta mo laychon
here they NM younger.sibling.your so if like
chay on-oswila, chicha at pay chi fiadfiadngam.
they,LK school them IM EM NM help.you

26d. Here are your younger siblings, so if you want them to go to school, they are the ones you should help.

27. Ya nangamong cha kayong os!
and responsible they EM also

27. And they are also responsible (to attend school)!

28. Hiya ngon sa tit-iwa nan achi yo chomngoran, ham
it EM that truly NM not you listen you
pay. Achim enpapas ay mon-oswila, tay haana-at
EM not.you pass LK school because then
enom mo ya nan sokiar mo nan cham
drink you and NM gamble you NM PROG,you
nomnomnomon. Tay kaman mo omasawa ta at
think because like if marry we IM
mangisiw.
evil

28. That truly shows that you do not listen to advice. That is why you did not finish school, because this drinking and gambling is what you have been doing. Because if we get married now (while you are doing all these things) it is bad.

29a. Nange! am pay nok nonsogsokiaran?
see.you EM my gamble

29a. Where did you see me gambling?

29b. Maid met!
none EM

29b. Nowhere!

30. Wacha nan matoy, angkiay ya anaka ifiakian challo
EXT NM dead then and well tell truly
nan ib-am ay fiarfiaro ya nan ib-am
NM companion.your LK boys and NM companion.your
ay fiafiarasang.
LK ladies

30. When there is (a wake for) a dead person, then your boy companions and your girl companions indeed tell me about it.

31. Ngachana pay?
who EM

31. Who are they?

32. Ay kias-in sansanam ta kanam on, "... toymo
Q again clarify.you so say.you QM you
sokonon?"
answer.back

32. You wrongly clarify so that you will say, "...why do you answer back?"

33. Ya hiyasa os nan mangaliyak on, "Kotom mo os."
and that also NM say.I QM tell.a.lie you also

33. And that is why I also say, "You are telling a lie."

34a. Aw ... ohhhhhh ... achim man mafialin man he oy
no well not.you EM can EM OM go

csassaot, tay mangisiw mo anaka omasawa ta,
deny because evil if well marry we

yangkiay ya hiyasay cha at-at-aton, mo omasawa ta.
then and that,LK PROG do if marry we

34a. No,...well..you cannot deny (that you are doing these things), because it is bad if you get married, and then you still behave the same way after you marry.

34b. Chongrom.
listen.you

34b. Listen.

35. Kon met hiyahiyasa gamin nan chayo kanakanan
only EM same EM NM PROG,you say

on, wacha kay chi matmatoy on, wachaak hid-i!
QM EXT EM NM dead QM EXT,I there

35. You keep on saying that whenever there is (a wake for) a dead person, that I will be there!

36. Ya o met!
and yes EM

36. Yes, that is right!

37. Ya maichak met!
and none.I EM

37. No, I am not always there!

38a. Anan mangesaotam?
well deny.you

38a. How can you deny it?

38b. Haka pay maawniawni komatam!
you EM late come.home

38b. You always come home late!

39. Achi met a, tay wacha challo nan agkiam
no EM EM because EXT truly NM sleeping.house

mi.
our

39. No (I am not always late) because we have a sleeping house (and sometimes I go there overnight).

40. Chongrom kay tay kon wacha challo nan cha
listen.you EM because only EXT truly NM PROG

kanan, kiay chaka somongfiat ya!
say then you answer.back EM

40. You better listen and stop arguing!

41. Ay chod man?
Q where EM

41. Where (am I arguing)?

42. Ta mo omasawa ta, ammo ay manarakon hi anak,
so if marry we know LK feed OM child

ammo ay manarakon hi asawa.
know LK feed OM wife

42. So that when we (Bontocs) get married, we need to know how to take care of children and how to take care of a wife.

43. Maanowat tay ammok ay manarakon.
of.course because know.I LK feed

43. Of course, I already know how.

44. Ay hokod ta chamman omasawa, haat ta
Q only so EM marry then we
monnomnom?
think

44. Is it only when you get married that you think (about this)?

45. Ya hiya met chi!
and that EM that

45. Yes, that is right!

46. Ammay pay mo elarapod wani!
good EM if begin,OM now

46. It is better if you begin (thinking) now!

47. Monnomnomon nan anak ay matarakon.
cause.to.think NM child LK feed

47. It is the children that cause us to think about taking care of them.

48a. Ya tay toan.
and because no

48a. I don't think so.

48b. Chana nangkila chas cha oy nonomnomon
PROG,he see they,OM PROG go think
mo hiyahiyasa.
if same

48b. If you keep on thinking (or doing things) like that, I doubt if you will ever come to your senses.

48c. Ay chitanto pay ay chachakchakor mot cha achim
Q we EM LK parents your PROG not.you
aaforoton mo ya magkorang ....
obey if and more

48c. Even to us your parents, you do not listen and what's more....

49. Angkiay sa ya ...?
only that and

49. Is that all...?

50a. Mab-oraya mo omasawa ka.
useless if marry you

50a. It is useless (to talk to you), even if you do get married.

50b. Achim kay at kikiad hi asawak ay cha oy
not.you EM IM depend OM wife.my LK PROG LK
mangom-om; ya ta oy omoy ngon oyta manobsobfiat.
go.to.field and so go go EM we get.sticks

50b. Do not let your wife go to the field alone; if she goes, you have to go along and get sticks.

51. Ya kikiad hiya, tay hiya nan nangimora ay!
and depend her because that NM plant EM

51. Well, it is up to her, because she is the one who plants!

52. Anan ischum?
well viand.your

52. Then how about your viand?

53. Ya ta ischa mi ah nan tod-i menor-ana.
and so viand our OM OM that plant.she

53. Well, we will eat the ones she plants.

54. Ahhh, .. mangisiw sa mampay!
o evil that EM

54. O,...that is bad!

55a. Kayman Fertig!
EM Fertig

55a. That's right, *Fertig*!

55b. Chongrom sa.
listen.you that

55b. Listen to that.

56. Ahh ....
well

56. Well,....

57. Magsomikap ka.
industrious you

57. Be industrious.

58. Ay chongron nan ifia yo ay anna, "Ta kon kayo
Q listen NM sibling your LK this so only you

am-in ...."
all

58. Did you hear what this sibling of yours said, "You are all ...."

59. Kayman chakayoy fottang!
EM you,LK drunkard

59. Yes, you are all drunkards!

60. Achiyak met fottang!
not.I EM drunkard

60. I am not a drunkard!

61a. Ay oy achi?
Q go not

61a. You say you are not?

61b. Kon ka komatam on hiyasa?
only you come.home EM that

61b. Even if you come home at this time?

61c. Anan sorsorfiatam!
well foolish

61c. How foolish you are!

61d. Angkiay ka kikiad mo achi ka monnomnomnom,
then you depend you not you think

angkiay anan oyakay cha kanakanan kan hea.
then well too.much PROG tell OM you"}}

61d. You seem to forget that you are the one who is responsible (for your own actions), and I'm tired of continually reminding you.

61e. Maid paat aforotom hi kanan!
none EM obey.you OM word

61e. You do not obey my word!

62. Aforotok met am-in nan chayo kankanan!
obey.I EM all NM PROG,you say

62. I obey all that you are telling me!

63a. Ay achim; kiay kon ka kikiad as cham
Q not.you then only you depend OM PROG,you

at-aton.
do

63a. No, you don't; so you are responsible for what you are doing.

63b. Ay way cha mangetangaw kan heay mangasawa?
Q EXT PROG like OM you,LK marry

63b. Is there anyone who would want to marry you?

64a. Aw wacha mo epapatek ngay challoy omarom!
no EXT if try.I EM truly,LK court

64a. Yes, there will be one, if I try hard to court (her)!

64b. At wacha challo.
IM EXT truly

64b. Surely there will be one (willing to marry me).

65. Oray nakodkod!
even skin.disease

65. Yes, one with skin disease!

66a. Oray wacha mampay mo angkiay ya omasawa ta
even EXT EM if then and marry so

ya cham challo ipoo-pooy nan cham at-at-aton,
and PROG,you truly continue NM PROG,you do

ya anan kanan cha?
and well say they

66a. Even if there will be one (who wants you), when you get married and you keep on doing what you are doing, then what will they say?

66b. Ya anan ...?
and well

66b. And how much...?

67. Kikiad kami ay anaka ....
depend we LK well

67. It is up to us....

68a. "Maid tochon ena na, maid tochon ama na,
none advise mother his none advise father his

maid tochon apo na," kanan cha.
none advise grandparents his say they

68a. "His mother does not advise him, his father does not advise him and his grandparents do not advise him," they will say.

68b. Kiay omepafiafiain kayowat.
then cause.embarass you

68b. Then you cause (us) embarrassment.

68c. Enha kon cha todtotodtotan chakayo.
see only PROG continue.to.advise,OM you

68c. They keep on advising you.

68d. Mangan ta, cha todtotan chakayo.
eat we PROG advise,OM you

68d. When we eat, they advise you.

68e. Komatain kayo, cha todtotodtotan chakayo.
come.home you PROG advise,OM you

68e. When you go home, they advise you.

68f. Ya kon kayo challo achi omaforot?
and only you truly not obey

68f. And you are not obeying?

69a. Hah!
yes

69a. Yes!

69b. Omaforot kami.
obey we

69b. We obey.

70a. Kon kayo kikiad ay ongong-a mo enha wachay
only you depend LK children if well EXT,LK

kanan en-aanaka yo nan kanan yo.
say do you NM say you

70a. Now it is up to you children if you insist on what you say.

70b. Wachas nomnom yo nan anaka etotoray yo.
EXT think you NM well control you

70b. You must control your own thoughts.

71. Ya oray pay kikiad kami.
and even EM depend we

71. We are the ones who are responsible.

Appendix: Text 2

1. Wacha nan hen-asawa ya nan osa-y anak cha.
EXT NM couple and NM one,LK child their

1. There was a couple and their child.

2. Nan naoy anak cha anna, laychona paat ay mangitoroy
NM this child their this like.he EM LK continue

as oswila na.
OM school his

2. Their child, he wanted to continue going to school.

3. Ngem cha ama na kan ena na, at kanan cha on,
but PL father his and mother his IM say they QM

"Achi kias-in, tay anoy mangor-an as ongor ay
no never because EM get OM much LK

siping, tenha maprak chi oswilad wani?"
money because expensive NM school,OM now

3. But his father and his mother said, "No way, because how can we get that much money, since school is very expensive now?"

4. Onsogsog-ang na ay anak kiapos ammo na ay
beg he LK child because know he LK

kafiaelan met cha ama na.
can EM PL father his

4. The child begged and begged, because he knew that his father could afford it.

5. Ya kon at oy fomongat hi ama na ay mangali on,
and only IM get angry OM father his LK say QM

"Kok kanan on, maid siping, ya anom man paat epelet
I say QM none money and ?? EM EM force

nan kanam? Mo chakos ko kenali on, maid at maid. Ay
NM word.your if already I say QM none IM none Q

chinngor mo sa?"
hear you that

5. But his father got angry and said, "Didn't I tell you that I don't have any money, so why do you persist in asking? I already said there is none, then there is none. Do you hear that?"

6. Yangkiay kaynan ya makok-ongiwan nan anak, ya
then EM and lose.hope NM child and

achi na itoroy nan oswila na asnan hiyachi ay tawwon,
not he continue NM school his OM that LK year

tenha met nan kanan ama na.
because EM NM word father his

6. Then the child lost hope and did not continue going to school that year, since that is what his father said.

7. Konpay tenmawwon ya kasin kanan nan anak on,
after one.year and again say NM child QM

"Fiachanganak man paat ta itoroy koy oswilak."
help.me EM EM so continue I,LK school.my

7. After one year, the child again said, "Please help me, so I can continue going to school."

8. Ya iyafod kayman nan ama, ya kanana on, "O a,
and agree EM NM father and say.he QM yes EM

ngem kon od-ay nan choway tawwon nan oswela-om ta
but only agree NM two,LK year NM school.your so

henkemad."
short.while

8. And the father agreed and said, "Yes, but your schooling should only be for two years so it will be for a short while."

9. Yangkiay iyafod nan anak.
then agree NM child

9. Then the child agreed.

10. Kona pay lenpas nan choway tawwon, kanana kasin
when EM finish NM two,LK year say.he again

on, kasina itoroy as chowa kasin ay tawwon.
QM again.he continue OM two again LK year

10. When he finished two years, he said again that he would continue two more years.

11. Yangkiay achi laychon cha ama na, tay inila
then not like PL father his because see

cha nan siping ay kinastos na at chamona, tay nan
they NM money LK spend he IM much because NM

laychon cha at mon-anap as chono na.
like they IM seek OM work his

11. Then his father (and mother) did not like it, because they saw that he spent a lot of money, because what they wanted him to do was look for a job.

12. Yangkiay kanan kayman nan anak na, "Mo hiyasa nan
then say EM NM child he if that NM

kanan yo, at ettanak as kiastowok ay oy mon-anap
word your IM give.me OM money.my LK go seek

as chonok."
OM work.my

12. Then the child said again, "If that is what you say, give me money to spend so I can go and look for my job."

13. Ya ettan ama na ya kona eneeknang.
and give father his and only.he give.enough

13. And his father gave (him some money), but he gave just enough.

14. Ya kanan nan anak on, "Kakom man paat taptapiyan
and say NM child QM hope EM EM add

tay aton ngay mo achiyak maka-anap ay dagos. Achi
because do EM if not.I can.find LK soon not

a ommat na."
EM enough this

14. And the child said, "Please add some more, because if I will not be able to find a job right away, this is not enough."

15. Ya kanan nan ama na on, "Hiyasa yangkiay nan
and say NM father his QM that only NM
mafialin koy ichat. Ommat sa, mo ammom nan atom.
can I,LK give enough that if know.you NM use.you
Kon ngon challo achi komponnis cha laklakwan, ta
only EM EM not anything,OM PROG buy so
kon yangkiay nan paat kasaporan chi aran. Tay
only EM NM EM need NM get because
hiyuchi ya hataat achi mam-enan hi kiastowon."
that and then not disappear OM money

15. And his father said, "That is all I can give you. That is enough, if you know how to use it. Do not just buy anything, only buy what is necessary. Because that way we will always have enough."

16. Ya kon tit-iwa angkiay chis inchat na ya chaan
and only truly then that,OM gave he and did.not
tenapiyan.
add

16. And that was truly all that he gave and he did not add to it.

17. Kiay ya koon nonnomnom nan anak ya kanana
then and probably think NM child and say.he
on, "Awni kayo."
OM wait you

17. Then the child thought and said, "Let me see."

18. Yangkiay chaan nasolet ya mak-ak nan anak ta oy
then not long and leave NM child so go
mon-anap as chono na, ya kona at inyinakiw ay
seek OM work his and only.he IM steal LK
nangaras nan am-in ay siping cha.
get NM all LK money their

18. Then before long the child left to look for his job, but he stole all their money.

19. Ya kon pay chi natapen chi orkiw ya wachay oy
and only EM NM another OM day and EXT,LK go
lakwan cha ama na kiay hachaat oy elaon ya maid at
buy PL father his then they go see and none IM
am-in nan siping cha ya ongor at chi totoyo cha ya
all NM money their and much IM NM repent their and
kon taon chacha fomongat ngem maid mafialin cha,
only EM PROG,they angry but none can they
tay mo kon cha chaan inimotan nan inenchat cha
because if only they not stingy NM give they
at chaana enara ami-in.
IM not.he get all

19. And some days later his father had something to buy, but when they went to see (the money), their money was gone. They were very sorry and very angry, but they couldn't do anything about it, because if they had not been so stingy, he wouldn't have stolen all of it.

20. Kaman asnan lakian mo komkomom ay kiamaron kon
like OM sand if hold.tight LK hold only
cha at oy mayakayak.
they IM go fall.down

20. Like sand, if you grasp it tightly, it will slip (out of your hand).

21. Kon pay mo kon mo tatapayaon at aket nan
only when if only if hold.soft IM little NM
mag-as.
fall.down

21. But if you hold it lightly, only a little bit will slip (out of your hand).

22. At hiyasa nan kanak kan chitako ay chachakchakor
IM that NM say.I OM us LK parents
on, "Achi tako imotan as makasolet nan an-ak tako.
QM not we selfish OM much NM children our
Mo ammo tako ay pagkiawesan cha. Tay enha mo oy
if know we LK betterment their because see if go
tako imotan, at kaman takowat oy ichorchor chicha ay
we selfish IM like we go force them LK
monnomnom hi mangisiw." Hatakowat cha oy
think OM evil then.we PROG go
kankanan on, "Ayodchi sas cha oy at-aton chi
say QM why that PROG go do NM
ongong-a?"
children

22. So that is what I say to all of us parents, "Let us not be selfish with our children, if we know that we have means to help them. Because if we are selfish, we are forcing them to think evil things." Then we ask, "Why are the children doing that?"

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